

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 829

May 16, 1952

FOURPENCE

SERETSE APPEALS FOR JUSTICE

PN REPORTER

AN appeal to Christians for action over Seretse Khama's life banishment was made by the Rev. L. J. Collins, Canon of St. Paul's, at an eve of departure meeting of the deputation from the Bamangwato Tribe at Denison House on Saturday.

"There is a moral urgency for the British people to do more than just speak with indignation. We need the same crusading spirit as during the days of slavery. It is up to Christians to stir up in their congregations a white fury against the evil of race discrimination."

Seretse Khama, who was accompanied by his wife Ruth, said: "We colonials are just being made a plaything. We are being used as a stick to hit whichever government is in power by the opposition parties."

"They tell me I'm a nice guy"

He said the Government "tell me to my face that I am a very nice guy. Then they tell me the best way I can serve my people is to become assistant secretary to the Governor of Jamaica."

"If I am unfit to rule over a small backward tribe, how can I rule a developed country like Jamaica?"

Echoing Canon Collins' call to Christians, he said: "Whenever we speak of good Christians we think of men like David Livingstone and Michael Scott. We also say they are good men and we agree with their principles, but we don't do anything about it."

"This is not an appeal to officialdom or any particular party. But to you the ordinary British people. It is up to you to see that justice is not sacrificed for doubtful expediency."

Through an interpreter, K. Seleka, one of the elders of the Bamangwato tribe, said: "We have been told to go back home and appoint a new chief, but our chief still lives. We are surprised that a loyal tribe like the Bamangwato should be so treated."

"Our chief consulted us on the marriage. We have accepted the marriage together with the off-spring of the marriage. They are our royal family. Why can't they come home? We do not know the crime committed by our chief."

The Seretse Khama Campaign Committee, which organised the meeting, are to consider the launching of a petition.

Will Britain betray Central Africa?

PN REPORTER

IT is wrong and impracticable to impose federation on an unwilling people, declared Mrs. Eirene White, MP (Lab., Flint) when she addressed what Michael Scott called a "historic meeting" in Westminster last Friday to oppose the proposals for the federation of Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

On the platform with her were the Rev. Michael Scott, Rev. Kenneth Mackenzie, missionary on leave from Northern Rhodesia, Mr. H. Nkumbula, President of the African National Congress in N. Rhodesia, Mr. O. E. Chirwa from Nyasaland, and three African chiefs.

Dingle Foot, former MP for Dundee and a Vice-President of the Liberal Party, was in the Chair.

The meeting was told that the initiative for Federation was taken by three groups of Europeans meeting in secret session without any Africans present, at Victoria Falls in 1949.

In a powerful and moving speech the Rev. Kenneth Mackenzie outlined many of the evils which would be accentuated by a federal government in which Africans were inadequately represented.

It would enlarge the power of the white settler groups. There was no group of men in Central Africa good enough to handle such power in the present multi-racial situation.

The South African policy of race segregation was steadily gaining ground in Nyasaland; it was impossible for him to find a café into which he could take a Christian Minister who was an African for a meal.

The constructive alternative to the federation proposals was the Central African Council. It was already in existence

(Continued on page six)

War: The doctor's moral responsibility

MEDICAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PREVENTION OF WAR MEETS IN LONDON

About 160 members of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War met in conference at the Royal College of Surgeons last week-end.

Their discussion of Biological Warfare is reported below. To avoid excessive condensation of such important discussions, reports of the sessions on "The Psychology of War Preparation," "The Hippocratic Oath and the Declaration of Geneva," and "The International Medical Services," will appear in Peace News next week.

PEACE NEWS STAFF REPORTERS

AFTER an opening address on "The Misuse of Science," by Professor F. G. Gregory, FRS, Chairman of the National Committee of "Science for Peace," the Conference turned to the discussion of Biological Warfare.

Dr. John H. Humphrey dealt with the historical background, which he traced back to 1720, when General Amherst gave presents of blankets, which had been used by small-pox cases, to the Indians in Nova Scotia, and managed to start some epidemics.

The Geneva Protocol of 1925, prohibiting bacteriological weapons, had, he said, been ratified by all the leading countries with the exception of the United States and Japan.

Japan had actually used bacteriological weapons in her war against China, and had produced a film showing the results.

British germ research

He then discussed the research into the subject which is being carried on at Detrick in Maryland, USA, and at Porton in this country, where a large new microbiology building has recently been opened.

"I am sure that the people who work at Porton are quite sincere in thinking that they are working on defence projects only, that it is a case of being ready if this country were attacked," he said, "but I am sure that they are aware that it is impossible to work on defence without knowing from what direction the attack is coming, and it is quite inevitable that work on attack must emerge."

The second main speaker, Dr. Martin R. Pollock, said, "If we doctors can do something—and I believe we can—to reduce the threat of the use of bacteriological warfare, I think that we will play some part in restoring confidence amongst the nations."

"To me the only reason why we are concerned with it is as an ethical problem, which involves a prostitution of medical science, a science which so far has been used only for the prevention and cure of human suffering."

Speak out now!

He urged that doctors should make it clear now that they would not have anything to do with such weapons, and recalled the case of scientists who, after working on the production of the atom bomb, had tried in vain to persuade the

American authorities to send a warning to the Japanese before it was exploded.

"If we say nothing," he declared, "our silence will be taken as tacit approval, not only in this country but in the world."

He then quoted a memorandum on "Medical Ethics in Relation to War" which was prepared by the MAPW, and published in the Lancet of Feb. 2. This stated that no medical man or woman should take part in developing bacteriological technique as a weapon, and appealed to the governments to repudiate formally any use of biological warfare, to throw open all microbiological research laboratories to inspection by a recognised international organisation, and to ensure that there should be full publication of all microbiological research, whether or not it was directly related to biological warfare.

Dr. Patrick Pollard stressed the need for solidarity with micro-biological workers in other countries, and also with other technical and scientific workers. He referred to a "very sensible resolution condemning bacteriological warfare" which had been passed by the Amalgamated Engineering Union the previous day.

Allies should be Geneva signatories

Dr. Alex Comfort said he thought we should demand of our Government to declare unilaterally, once again, that it would not employ bacteriological warfare either in the first instance or as a reprisal, and furthermore to dissociate itself from alliance with any countries that were not signatories of the Geneva Convention.

Dr. Montuschi reminded the meeting that biological, as distinct from bacteriological warfare was already being carried on now by our forces in Malaya, who were poisoning the food crops of villages which "had not given the authorities adequate information about bandits."

Another doctor referred to the investigation by the delegation of democratic lawyers of the charges of germ warfare in Korea and said that the English delegate had recently been cross-examined for 3½ hours at a meeting of the Haldane Society

(Continued on page six)

"Liberals regard it as extremely dangerous from the national point of view that the country should only have two alternative Governments to vote for... The omnibus resolution of the Liberal Executive, produced by a policy committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Philip Fothergill, has been amplified by a commentary on the 'Radical Programme'... In glowing terms the commentary considers the society which would result from such a policy. 'One where, within the framework of world order and untrammelled exchange, every citizen will have the opportunity to lead a free and full life...'"

—The Manchester Guardian, May 6, 1952.

A FREE AND FULL LIFE?

An open letter to the Rt. Hon. Clement Davies, P.C., Q.C., M.P.

My dear Clement Davies,

The announcement that your Liberal Party will contest "substantially more than half the seats" at the next election does not bring the cheer to my lips that I earnestly wish it would.

As you know, I am sympathetic to your aspirations and familiar with your difficulties, but my pen wrote "your" and not "our," and that is an unhappy but revealing word for one who has reason to respect you and your work highly.

After completing a prison sentence in 1942 (struck off the CO Register by a retired Indian Civil Service Judge who had suffered near-apoplexy when I quoted Mahatma Gandhi on divine love!), I assisted you on the India Relief Committee. We faced the Tory cacophony, to which Labour added a soothing counterpoint, to prove to Mr. Amery that the

death by starvation in Bengal of nearly two million was not a myth invented by Mr. Krishna Menon in his Strand office. It was a shameful fact produced by military strategy and commercial greed, which so often march hand in hand.

Others, who may not remember this aspect of World War II so vividly as you and I, may need to be reminded that the Allied "Defence" Forces could not scorch the earth in the vast wet Ganges Delta, so they took away all the river-boats without which no transport of crops from field to village was possible.

You and I are not likely to forget how hard we had to struggle to compel Mr. Amery to admit that there was even a slight food shortage. In a Committee Room of the House of Commons we read the reports of our naval destroyers in the Hooghly ploughing through thousands of floating corpses, while the Secretary of State for India assured a small bored House below that there was "no cause for alarm."

NAPALM

MPs on atrocious sufferings

A QUESTION on the napalm bomb aroused intense feeling among members on both sides of the House of Commons on Monday.

Mr. Eden's reply to a request from Emrys Hughes, MP (Lab., Ayrshire S.) that a proposal should be sent to the United Nations asking for its use to be discontinued during the cease fire negotiations, was "No, Sir."

Mr. Hughes: Is the Foreign Secretary aware of the very grave concern recently expressed by the Archbishop of York about the effect of the napalm bomb? In view of the right hon. gentleman's concern about the humane treatment of prisoners from North Korea, does he not think there is a case to consider the humane treatment of people before they become prisoners?

Mr. Eden: I think the House understands that the whole of this question of the use of weapons is one on which it is extremely difficult to pronounce judgment. What the hon. gentleman has asked is whether, during the armistice, I can take a special step in connection with a single weapon. I do not think that we can reach an armistice by stages by weapons. I think that the armistice must be concluded as a whole.

Mr. Hughes: Will not the Foreign Secretary express some horror about the burning of people alive?

Mr. Eden: Yes, I expressed horror at the original Communist invasion which started the whole business.

Brigadier Medicott (N. Lib. & Con., Norfolk, C.): Is not the Foreign Secretary aware that there is a good deal of disquiet about the use of this weapon which is not confined to the other side of the House, and that if we are to regain the moral leadership in international affairs, we must be prepared to take a stand somewhere against the use of weapons which are very disturbing to the conscience of Christian society?

Mr. Noel Baker (Lab., Derby S.): Would it not be helpful if the Soviet delegates to the Disarmament Commission would agree to our proposals for the abolition of all weapons of mass destruction?

Mr. Eden: Yes Sir. Unfortunately the Soviet delegates refuse to discuss anything unless the weapons which they do not possess are first removed.

Dr. Horace King (Lab., Southampton, Test): Is the right hon. gentleman aware that many Christian church folk in this country regard with profound disquiet the continued use of the napalm bomb, in view of the atrocious sufferings it inflicts upon innocent civilian people?

Mr. Eden: Yes Sir, but I think the House will understand—many of us understand—that almost all weapons create the most terrible suffering...

Mr. Emrys Hughes: In view of the unsatisfactory nature of the reply, I beg to give notice that I will raise the matter again.

PROTEST MARCH

To-morrow, Saturday, May 17, pacifists are invited to join in a poster parade protest against the use of the napalm bomb organised by the pacifist group known as Operation Gandhi. The procession will leave Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, at 11.20 a.m. and march to the Air Ministry.

Nine-tenths of India was against us then, and no wonder. Most Asiatic nations are still passively or actively hostile to our actions in the East. To most Asians the presence of any Western troops on Asiatic soil, however expedient may be the reason given for their being there, is cause for fear. Scarcely an Eastern country has escaped the Imperialistic rule of some Western power, and millions are willing to die to escape it. This is a fact seldom faced by our politicians, and still less mentioned in our newspapers.

I ask you in the name of justice to examine the present war now being waged by us in Malaya against the Malaysians to find out if there is not some parallel to what we saw happen in India. General Templer complains that two-thirds of the Malaysians are against us. He proceeds to destroy their crops, and now there are so few for us that civil order has to be based on some thousands of immigrant non-Communist Chinese!

(Continued on page three)

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

16th May 1952

LIFE IS CHEAP TODAY

WE were glad to see the letter to the New Statesman from Sir Charles Trevelyan deploring the offering of rewards for political assassination. In it he wrote:

"I have heard with serious concern that the British authorities in Malaya are offering increased rewards, amounting to many thousands of pounds, for the capture or killing of the Secretary, members of the Politburo and various Committees of the Communist Party. I have always been brought up to regard assassination with dislike as wicked, and I was glad that when it was frequent on the Continent in past centuries it was regarded here as un-British. I am sorry that it is no longer considered an un-British way of getting rid of an enemy."

General Sir Gerald Templer's decision marks yet a further stage in the declining valuation of human life referred to by the Rev. Claud Colman in Peace News last week. It will hardly be possible for the next generation of statesmen to be "brought up," as was Sir Charles, to apply any kind of moral criteria to the treatment to be applied to enemies.

★

This new development in Malaya carries forward by a step or two the conception of warfare which was endorsed by the British on the adoption of the "commando" system.

The work of the commando had inevitably to bear close resemblance to individual assassination through methods of cunning and brute violence.

There would have been something miraculous if the training of commandos had not later resulted in a contempt for law and a readiness to resort to violence in civil life; if some, hardly past adolescence and having had no period of adult responsibility in which to found their lives on any stable conception of social morality, should adopt the same standards of conduct used when carrying out the orders of those who put them in uniform.

It is also hardly to be expected that those who seek to earn General Templer's rewards will be likely to carry into the future a tender regard for the value of human life and a sense of chivalry that will help to bring more decency into the world than exists in the present black age.

Sir Gerald Templer, however, is a statesman of a different kidney from Sir Charles Trevelyan.

★

While we are on this subject we feel called upon to point out that CO tribunals do not offer very much encouragement to those who, while they hold that war may sometimes be justified, nevertheless hold that it is necessary and desirable to differentiate between circumstances in which the killing of men may be morally vindicated and other circumstances where it may not.

An objector comes before the tribunal. He says that he cannot honestly aver that there are no circumstances in which he might be ready to take part in war; nevertheless, he holds that the killing of a man is a dreadful act, to be regarded as something of the utmost gravity.

In any circumstances he can foresee he would be called upon to participate in the killing of men (not to speak of women and children) in the course of activities for which he should find no justification; indeed he might very likely feel that his sympathies lay more with those he was being sent to kill than with those who were sending him.

The man's case that the taking of human life is a thing of such grave importance that it can only be entered upon by one who has a complete sense of its moral justification in the given circumstances makes no impression on the tribunal.

What they say to him in practice—they sometimes come near to saying it in words—is

"You say there can be circumstances in which you might feel that you would be justified in killing; therefore you can now acquiesce in an undertaking that you will be ready to kill anybody, anywhere, at any time, for any cause, when you are so instructed by the Army authorities and the Government."

★

Are the mental processes of the tribunal so very different from those of the commando who feels that he can do in Britain for his own ends what he was instructed to do on other coasts for military ends?

Have not the tribunals heard that it was laid down by the Nuremberg Court that it was no justification for the committing of an immoral act that you were under military orders to do so? And has not Sir Gerald Templer?

Korea's prisoners

AFTER months of negotiations over the preliminaries for an armistice in Korea and concessions by both sides, the divergencies have narrowed to a single point—the conditions for the repatriation of prisoners of war.

We deplore the talk of an ultimatum and the attempt to put the Communists in the wrong because of their refusal of the final American terms.

It should be remembered that the Communists have made several important concessions, including the agreements that any South Koreans who had joined the Korean People's Army and subsequently been captured by the Americans should be allowed to choose either to stay in South Korea or go to North Korea and that no repatriated prisoners should be re-embodied in the army.

Neither side has the right to dictate conditions to the other or, if they do, must share responsibility for the result.

Here is a situation in which both parties can claim a measure of right on their side. It is therefore a clear case for a further attempt to reach a compromise.

On that thread peace now hangs.

Underlying considerations

—What are the underlying considerations?

The Communist negotiators can certainly claim that recognised custom and practice support their demand for the repatriation of all prisoners of war.

As recently as 1949 Britain, the USA and the USSR signed a convention in Geneva which appears to make binding on them the accepted practice of 200 years: that on the cessation of hostilities all prisoners of war should be returned.

Indeed one article specifically deals with the point now at issue and states that "prisoners of war may not in any circumstances renounce in part or in entirety" the rights of repatriation secured to them under the agreement.

Nor can we forget that the established custom enabled Britain at the end of the recent war to bring back to this country and put on their trial for treason prisoners who would not have chosen repatriation if they had been given their choice.

Moreover many Ukrainian soldiers were forcibly returned to Russia against their will and regardless of the consequences to them.

It is unfortunate that the considerations which now prompt Britain and America to take a high moral line about protecting prisoners against enforced repatriation were not operative in 1949 so that a difficult problem might have been discussed in a less dangerous atmosphere and some new convention established.

But if the law would seem to be behind the Communists, justice, which the law is meant to express, may well hesitate to return prisoners against their will—though it seems a strange anomaly that governments who conscript men and send them to the front should become so concerned about their wishes when they are prisoners of war!

If there were no conscription for fighting the question of conscription for returning would not arise.

What is at stake?

In view of the charges made against the Americans of cruelty, intimidation and reprisals in the desire to eradicate Communism from Korea, the Chinese cannot be expected automatically to accept an assurance that half the prisoners held by the United Nations have, without any pressure, declined to be repatriated.

It is prestige which is at stake on both sides rather than principles. The Communists do not want to accept as a fact that a large number not only of N. Korean but also of Chinese soldiers do not want to return to Communist controlled territory. The United Nations do not wish it to be thought that anyone who wishes to escape from the clutches of Communism will automatically be repatriated.

But much more is at stake than prestige. If the negotiations break down now there is certain to be a demand from many in America not only for a renewal but for an extension of the war.

We may well ask whether Britain has been committed in advance to the blockade of China and the bombing of Manchuria in such circumstances by the agreement made by Attlee and Morrison last September or the understanding to which Churchill was a party on his recent visit to Washington.

The whole world could so easily become involved in total war once full scale fighting was resumed in Korea.

A possible solution

The demand must be "Halt—major war ahead"—no ultimatum, no recriminations, no attempts to put the other side in the wrong, but a new attempt to solve the dilemma.

We can see at least one possibility. It must be remembered that the present negotiations are confined to the military requirements for an armistice.

The United Nations' negotiators have previously refused to discuss matters of principle and political considerations which are reserved for the subsequent peace talks. Let the details of the return of prisoners be held in abeyance on the understanding that while peace terms are being discussed an impartial commission acceptable to both sides be appointed to carry out (with guarantees that they can work without let or

BEHIND THE NEWS

hindrance and that their decisions will be accepted) the twofold task of

(a) examining all prisoners of war on both sides who it is stated do not wish to be repatriated, and

(b) deciding what is to happen to those who they agree have good reasons for not wanting to return home—for this is another important aspect of the problem.

Pointing the moral

But to return to the basic considerations, important if moral principles are really the governing consideration and not just prestige.

So long as the United Nations can become a belligerent, the possibility of finding neutral mediators of sufficient authority and standing and of strengthening the process of reconciliation is reduced to a minimum.

Why should consideration for men's welfare be limited to prisoners of war? A readiness to use the atom bomb, the increasing use of napalm bombing deny those moral principles now invoked and any real concern for the welfare of those not so fortunate as to be captured.

Is the United Nations prepared to say: "If you are captured (or desert to our side?) we will see that you are not sent back, but in the name of the same freedom and democracy we will blow you to bits or burn you to a cinder."

If those who profess a moral concern for the fate of prisoners of war would have a similar concern for all other men they would never use the means which are bound to land them in the present dilemma, and inevitably defeat their ends.

It is impossible to strike a balance in mathematical terms, to settle the problem by an appeal to "humanity." If it be true that many prisoners may be penalised on repatriation, or even commit suicide to avoid it if an armistice is declared, the alternative is that all prisoners will be penalised and thousands of lives lost while the whole field of suffering is extended if the war continues.

The choice is between an armistice now or the extension of the war—not between some suffering or no suffering. If this seems to involve a choice of two evils it is because methods which are evil can only lead to consequences which are evil.

The only way to avoid that dilemma is to renounce the whole method of war for the evil thing which it is.

The alleged Fechteler report

IT will be necessary to wait before making up one's mind on the authenticity of the report published by the very reputable French newspaper Le Monde as having been sent by Admiral Fechteler, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations to the American National Security Council.

According to Le Monde this report was despatched by courier by Admiral Fechteler on January 18. A copy of the report was "intercepted" by British Naval Intelligence in the USA, and was communicated by somebody to Le Monde on condition that certain passages containing technical information should not be published.

The authenticity of this report has been denied by the British Admiralty, the American authorities, and by Admiral Fechteler himself.

Le Monde's comment on this is that such denials were inevitable and to be expected; it nevertheless insists that what it has published is a genuine report.

Most British Press comment on this alleged document has been concerned with its estimate of probable happenings in a war with Russia: that Europe will be overrun in three days; that Scotland can be cut off from England by the landing of 150,000 parachute troops; that Russian submarines would be able to prevent practically all shipping from crossing the Atlantic; and that Britain could be put out of action by atomic bombardment.

This kind of prophecy, however, is anybody's conjecture.

The Mediterranean and North Africa

The important thing about the document, if it were possible to establish that it is authentic, is the indication it gives of what may prove to be the American Government's attitude to world affairs.

The aim of the document is to insist on the supreme importance in a war "of which the object is the defeat of the aggressor" of the Mediterranean and the North African countries:

"The study of the strategic position of the United States demands a profound examination of the problems of the Mediterranean. The national solution of these problems will decide the efficacy with which the Mediterranean theatre could be used to obtain the decision in a future war."

"The Mediterranean problems are those of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. The position of the USA should be

strengthened in this area. Of the countries of North Africa, Libya is independent. "Libya is necessary to the United States," and it has the advantage that it is too sparsely populated to be able to develop a Communist front.

Fully authentic

WHATEVER may be the truth about this reported Fechteler document it is certainly not more crudely outspoken than the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives in presenting its estimate for the Mutual Security Programme for the coming fiscal year.

Having to convince the deputies that they will be getting value for their money it does not mince words.

"For the security of the United States" it was important that the mines, factories, and skills of Europe, as well as the resources of other nations of the free world, should be kept out of Soviet hands.

Then comes the consideration, that Mr. Bevan will doubtless note, that the United States is now more dependant on imported materials than at any time in its history.

"The conclusion of the Committee on this issue is that while no one can say with certainty the people of Europe will fight effectively if the Soviet attacks, determination to do so seems to grow rapidly as ability to resist aggression develops. It is clearly to our advantage to foster this spirit and meet Soviet attack in Europe rather than to see Europe pass to Russia by default."

And now the AEU

THE first of the big trade unions to pronounce on the present armament's policy was the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers which declared for a "re-examination and reduction of the rearmament programme."

The Amalgamated Engineering Union has now had its Annual Conference and on the recommendation of its Executive has passed a resolution expressing its "concern at the extent to which the rearmament programme is seriously affecting Britain's economy."

It urges a peace pact between the five great Powers; the seeking of an international agreement on a progressive reduction of all arms; and the prohibition of atomic weapons and bacteriological warfare.

There was a fourth clause adding the rather inconsequential demand that there should be an inquiry into the wages of workers in countries that threaten Britain's trade, "notably Japan and Germany."

Whatever other factors may operate in Japan, so far as Germany is concerned the advantage she has over Great Britain in the export markets comes from the fact that she can make goods for export instead of armaments.

It is worth noting that an amendment seeking to substitute a more general statement for the resolution's specific proposals, although it was supported by the Union's president, Mr. Jack Tanner, was defeated by the Conference.

They love darkness

IT is important that we should appreciate the difficulties that are put in the way of peoples under alien control who want to state their case.

We have seen how a barrier has been set up against the presentation to UN of the Tunisian case for independence—the two ministers deputed by the Chenik Government to urge its claims were refused visas by the USA. Travel facilities were withheld from the representatives of the Hereros when their case was being considered by the Trusteeship Council.

When the Nyasaland African Congress decided to send its delegation to London in connection with the discussions on the proposed Central African Federation the Government refused a permit (note that a permit is necessary) to make a public appeal for funds. The four men were able to come as a result of money subscribed privately.

The fact of this prohibition alone may give us some indication of what the people of Nyasaland may have to fear if the small white population achieves a greater measure of what it calls "self-government."

The first Hydrogen Bomb

IT is planned to test the first hydrogen bomb next September. The testing place is likely to be Eniwetok, in the Pacific.

It is anticipated that this bomb will have an explosive power of between 200 and 300 kilotons; it will be from ten to fifteen times more powerful than the bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima. It will be capable of devastating an area of about fifty square miles. The Hiroshima bomb covered only eight square miles.

There has been no report so far that the Russians have the hydrogen bomb; nor for that matter, that the British have it.

Advance in these matters is now becoming so rapid, however, without any commensurate advance in either common sense or moral decency, that we shall not be surprised if we do not learn later on of Australia being asked to provide a testing ground for a British hydrogen bomb.

"Rel

an i

Prof

Th

"TH

Johann

resistib

based.

out of 1

of the

The at

under th

danger o

The bc

be read

Here i:

No exce

Profes

situation

terpretat

basing h

boldly de

of the hi

porise v

"Thou s

While

preted by

and is n

churches

of good

"chose ju

Holy See

to follow

right, on

"Again

Ude, "si

demand t

bid war

Christ de

defence,

moral an

killing of

How do

Profess

notion th

war or t

Our ever

affect our

thrown i

ever incr

If I an

and fail i

I can do

do more,

arises fro

Non-vic

of Christ

action."

This lo

only in s

i.e., to r

and ruth

which wa

Only t

praying,

accusing,

can we e

His rigl

sponsibl

To be

Christian

cannot d

Wars

voluntary

however,

greedy s

based on

armamen

assurance

peace, no

Every

it wants

whanimo

no gover

So lon

governm

people's

WHAT

answ m:

Peace P

indicated

accompa

Some

start in

others r

Central

gifts ar

life of a

outcome

commem

had coll

and fro

Yes, a

lies in t

for how

prompte

the desi

construc

about it

Will y

in the s

in shilli

which y

you ren

service

Our aim

Amount

Amount

Donat

should

Fund,"

Sheppan

"Refusal of military service is an international duty," writes Prof. Ude in his latest book—

THOU SHALT NOT KILL

"THOU Shalt Not Kill,"* by University Professor Dr. Johannes Ude, is as simple and irresistible as the gospel on which it is based. Like the Gospel, it was born out of the experience of evil and out of the love which conquers all evil.

The author, a Catholic, wrote the book under the Hitler dictatorship in constant danger of his life.

The book is well-knit, but each topic can be read independently.

Here is Professor Ude's argument.

No exceptions

Professor Ude examines every possible situation which results from the literal interpretation of "Thou shalt not kill." While basing his thesis on Catholic doctrine, he boldly denounces by name those members of the hierarchy who, in his opinion, temporise with the absolute commandment "Thou shalt not kill."

While the Sixth Commandment, as interpreted by Christ, allows of no exceptions and is morally binding on all individuals, churches and nations, and is not just a piece of good advice, it has not been declared a "chose jugée," in its relation to war, by the Holy See, and hence every Catholic is free to follow his belief, which appears to him right, on the basis of his reason.

"Again and again," declares Professor Ude, "simple folk raise their voices and demand that the Catholic Church should forbid war and conscription." It is clear that Christ does not recognise the right of self-defence, for he espouses non-violence. On moral and religious grounds, therefore, the killing of an unjust aggressor is prohibited.

How does that concern me?

Professor Ude rejects completely the notion that any of us is not responsible for war or that he is an innocent sufferer. Our every thought and word and action affect our environment. We are like a stone thrown into water, which produces waves ever increasing in circumference.

If I am morally obliged to do something and fail in my duty, I have no right to say I can do nothing. In fact I am obliged to do more, as long as my doing or forbearing arises from a free will.

Non-violence, which comes from the love of Christ, is the highest form of love in action.

This love, says Professor Ude, resists evil, only in so far as it is never led to do evil, i.e., to resist evil—no matter how unjust and ruthless—with violence, for no evil which war can stop is worse than war itself.

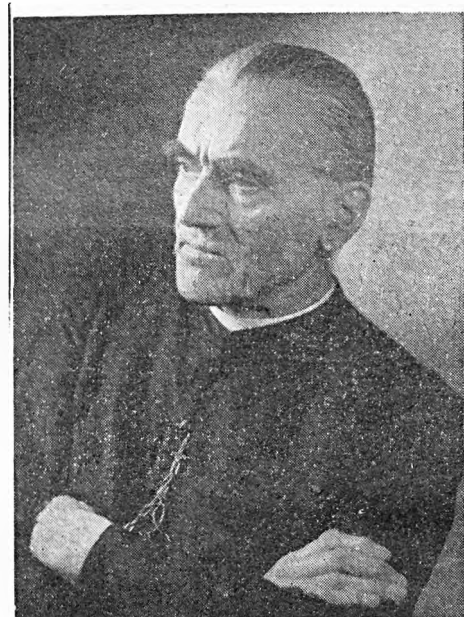
Only through action and not by mere praying, complaining, commiserating and accusing, least of all by the might of arms, can we establish the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. "Therefore ye responsible men of the Church do your duty!" To be a soldier and at the same time a Christian are two incompatible ideas. One cannot drive out the devil by Beelzebub.

Wars can and should be stopped by the voluntary action of individuals. To-day, however, as Professor Ude points out, the greedy sovereignty of all nation-states is based on violence, as shown by their rearmament, in spite of the protestations and assurances of each State that it seeks only peace, not war.

Every people has the government which it wants and deserves, for if people were unanimous and earnest in not wanting war no government could lead them into it.

So long as citizens do not resist their governments in the insane sacrifice of the people's income and fortune, and allow

themselves to be forced into military service, so long will militarism celebrate its orgies, so long must we say that the people want war, and hence will always have it. "Isn't it senseless," cries Professor Ude, "hundreds of thousands, yes, millions of



PROFESSOR JOHANNES UDE

Austria's leading pacifist and non-party candidate in the 1951 Presidential election. He was twice imprisoned during the German occupation of Austria for his outspoken criticism of the persecution of the Jews. He is a member of the War Resisters' International, of which the Peace Pledge Union is the British section.

people are driven to perpetrate the most terrible deeds of horror." Yet these millions submit without resistance.

In a trice they could throw their weapons away, disarm and return home to their labours of peace; they do not realise their own strength, they do not grasp their power of "I will."

Without exception all are enthusiastic with their "I would like to," but the way to peace lies only in the courageous "I will."

Refusal of military service is an international duty. To accomplish this end, we must incessantly explain what military duty really means, and why we oppose it. This must be done through mass movements in which the individual finds his security.

We have been told, says Professor Ude,

The British-Egyptian dispute

By ROY SHERWOOD

IT is now over three months since the dispute between this country and Egypt became acute, after taking a long time to work itself up into the really bad attacks against British property and the British-held Canal Zone which marked the early weeks of the present year.

Then, it was, of course, the Canal region that came most prominently into view and under consideration. Now, it is the Sudan; and as far as Great Britain is concerned this change from one main point of contention to another is a great piece of luck. For there was nothing beyond military usefulness to be said in favour of the continued presence of our troops on the Suez Canal. Whether expressed in a few terse words or in ten thousand of rhetorical eloquence, all claims to stay there can never amount to anything more than that might is mightier than right; or, alternatively, that as long as great powers, (or groups of them) snarl at each other, there can be no hope of justice for small ones.

Misrule in the Sudan

But there is so much to be said in favour of our resistance to Egypt's claim for sovereignty over the Sudan that, with this as the focal point, all wrongs in the British position fall into the background and Egypt becomes the villain of the piece.

It is even difficult to understand that she should have handled her case so clumsily as to turn her original "right" into so decisive a "wrong" that she has not only set all liberal opinion in the world against her but has also reminded everybody of the occasionally beneficent by-products of 19th century British imperialism.

For if it was imperialism (plus the Suez Canal) plus Egyptian internal misrule that first took the British to Egypt, Egypt

that we are attempting a Utopia. In all seriousness, we are not. The Pope, as the highest representative of official Christian doctrine, has it in his power, without further ceremony, in one day so to speak, to proclaim to all Catholic Christendom (amounting to about 450 millions) the abomination of conscription, and the Christian duty to refuse it.

Such a proclamation would result in bishops and priests immediately engaging in propaganda through religious instruction in schools, assemblies, sermons, personal contacts, the Press, etc.

In the last analysis the question of war and peace is not a question of economics, nationalism or politics, it is fundamentally a religious question.

FRANCIS BEHN RIGGS

**Only the German edition, "Du sollst nicht töten," publishers Hugo Mayer, Dornbirn, is available. Copies may be obtained from Housman's Bookshop or Dr. Theodor Michaltschew, Hamburg 13, Bornstrasse 6, Germany. Price DM.11.50 (20s.).*

herself held the Sudan—in so far as "holding" can be applied to a corrupt misgoverning overlordship—by conquest, against the wishes of the population. The first time the Sudanese ever experienced honest or orderly government was when they came under British Governors.

This is not to say that the Sudanese themselves were at that time anxious to exchange their Egyptian for British masters. But they gained by the change. They had been conquered by the Egyptians in 1820 and spent most of the intervening years in periodic revolts, punctuated by terrible cruelties. British rule came to be accepted, and it is only in comparatively recent years—concomitant with general world trends towards independence and self-government—that the desire for autonomy has again become active.

As long ago as on Nov. 15, 1951, Mr. Eden stated definitely that the Sudan would be granted self-government some time during the present year.

The constitution prepared to this effect, submitted to the Legislative Assembly at Khartoum on April 2, has been pronounced "really good for a transitional period" by so keen a critic of political events as Abdulla Bey Khalil, the secretary-general of the Umma Party.

He has also said that only a general election or a plebiscite can decide adequately whether the Sudanese are prepared to accept Egyptian sovereignty.

Ugly danger of expediency

It is at this point that the ugly danger of a bargain based on mere expediency arises.

It is feared in certain quarters (strongly hoped in others) that British opposition to the proclamation of King Farouk as sovereign over a joint dominion of Egypt and the Sudan may be abandoned, that the Egyptian claim to sovereignty over the Sudan may be conceded in exchange for an "acceptable" arrangement for the protection of the Canal Zone.

Since Great Britain no longer demands that this protection—necessary as long as we think in military values—should be her own responsibility, she would be extraordinarily foolish if she were to entertain the idea of such a bargain. There may be a difference of degree, but there is none in kind, between returning North Koreans unwilling to be repatriated from the prisoner-of-war camps in which they now are to the Communists and handing over the Sudanese population to Egyptian rule without first ascertaining their wishes.

Everything in the existing situation forces one to be suspicious of Egyptian motives and action. The country's economic position, governed largely by the cotton market, is bad enough to tempt any government to direct popular attention upon external grievances in the hope that this may minimise internal ones. And it will take a long time to purge the administration of the effects of long-continued Wafd malpractices.

The Sudanese must not be sacrificed to bargaining expediency.

OPEN LETTER TO CLEMENT DAVIES

(Continued from page one)

It troubles me that, even after the experience with India, none of our statesmen seems able to grasp that we are witnessing an awakening of social and political consciousness of all the peoples of the earth. We should not try to beat down this upsurge, but take stock of our relation to it.

The first thing we have to do is to overcome the prejudice that this vast revolutionary movement is the creation of Communist propaganda. The Communists simply understand what is happening better than we do, and take full advantage of it for their own purposes.

Mahatma Gandhi was certainly not a Communist, and he wrenched India out of our hand without their help. But if he were alive today, you and I know that the Two Party bloc here would not hesitate to brand him one. Of course, you have the integrity and responsibility to feel a healthy disgust for the cheap "fellow traveller" gibe, equally popular with Right and Left, and as a Liberal you can say boldly: "A plague on both your houses!"

POLICIES OF HOSTILITY

We would not be far wrong if we agreed that both Tories and Socialists have brought a plague upon our people. A plague of atomic threats, destruction of food sources, inflation and fear. Following two world wars (and well on the way to a third), though bankrupt or nearly so, we are prepared to spend £4,700 millions a year or more on the means of destroying the earth and the men who produce its harvests, but are not prepared to spend a hundredth part of that sum to care for the land and to promote the right of mankind to live and create on it in peace.

We are committed to policies of aggressive and immature hostility, best summed up by John Foster Dulles on May 5 in Paris when he said that the free nations had the power to hit an aggressor where it would hurt, at times and places of their own choosing, and suggested that they should organise this deterrent influence "openly and unashamedly."

I hope that you will be able to say that you and the Liberal Party of Britain are ashamed of our part in this. After reading the report of the Liberal Executive's omnibus resolution, I must confess that the hope is extremely faint. Everything there is so non-committal and gives the impres-

sion of being carefully calculated to avoid the fundamental issues.

For instance, I learn that: "The substitution of economic nationalism by free trade cannot be effected at one stroke," which looks to me suspiciously like political jargon for not much enthusiasm to effect it at all. The commentary explains the provisions of Lord Samuel's Liberties of the Subject Bill, but as one of a pacifist minority who was sentenced to nine months, with Hard Labour illegally imposed, by an Oxford Bench of Justices of the Peace, I admit myself sceptical. If the Liberal Party and Lord Samuel raised their voices then, they must have been muffled behind a thick curtain of expediency.

JUKE-BOX EDITORS

As I see it, the two principles which are fundamental to the conception of a Liberal society are (1) Free Trade, and (2) Liberty of Conscience and Action for the individual, provided he does not coerce or harm others. We in England have no free trade left, but we still talk a lot about liberty.

Today the Tribunals for Conscientious Objectors are little more than a face-saving device for sending ethical boys to prison without the stigma attached to the less subtle methods employed by totalitarian states. Anyone who has tried to mention in our national press that youth of eighteen are now in prison with criminals for claiming liberty of conscience, must have discovered that freedom to say so is virtually as restricted as in Pravda. Editors of important British newspapers have recently developed a striking resemblance to juke boxes who can play only a limited number of tunes when the coin is inserted, and most of these are the latest smash-hit marching songs of General Bradley.

If you have something better to offer us at the next election than conscription and war for the masses, and criminal prisons for the peace-making minority, the time is ripe for Liberal resurgence. I believe that social redemption is to be found in true Liberalism rather than in the charnel house faith of Tory and Labour Lords, the Kremlin and the Pentagon, all of whom believe the shedding of human blood to be the ultimate sanction. But it must be true Liberalism. Anything less suffers from

pernicious anaemia, and will swiftly perish.

When we have statesmen of sufficient courage and perception to look at the world situation as it is, and not in the way that shows us in the best light, they will at once give the only effective answer to Communism by revolutionising their own attitude to the world.

They will cease to treat Asia as an enemy and set about feeding the hungry, who so naturally turn to Communism when they are starving. They will immediately remove so-called "protective" barriers at home and invite the Commonwealth to follow suit; abolish crippling and expensive internal restrictions on production of all kinds except armaments, which would be subject to a 500 per cent. purchase tax; provide interest-free banking credit to all peaceful and genuine enterprise, and use the new wealth thus made available to reclaim waste land in the Commonwealth and elsewhere.

At the same time they will invite all other countries, including Russia and China, to co-operate in free trade, exchanges of scientific and cultural techniques, instead of imagining that peace and plenty can come out of boycott and threats with the atomic weapon.

The Communists have taken a full part in making the time in which we live a desperate and tragic one. That is no reason why, by evasiveness, consent or imitation, we should make it worse. Our progress towards a final and devastating World War III bears a terrible likeness to the approach of World Wars I and II, but with the whole picture enlarged a thousandfold.

To stop the war you will have to become Liberal Pacifists in the widest and deepest sense. Nothing short of a miracle of transformation in the individuals who constitute the Liberal Party will suffice. May I hope that it will begin with you to whom your colleagues turn for guidance?

You may say that we are, as a people, too small and weak now to affect world affairs: even if we did these things at home, we should be crushed by the giants of American vested interests and the vast Socialist monopolies of Russia. But I say that it is the small stone in the sling of David that overcomes Goliath. Let your sling be of wisdom and your missile nothing but the truth.

Yours most sincerely,
DENNIS GRAY STOLL

ALCHEMY

WHAT interesting stories lie behind many of the gifts which come in answer to this fortnightly appeal for the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund is indicated by the letters which sometimes accompany them.

Some showed a desire to give us a good start in 1952 or brought Easter greetings, others represented a desire to share in the Central Hall Meeting or the AGM, some gifts are a token of thanksgiving for the life of a relation or friend, for a successful outcome to a tribunal application, or in commemoration of an anniversary. We have had collections of 3d. pieces from Scotland and from Yorkshire.

Yes, and what an interesting story also lies in the use to which the gifts are put, for however different the reasons which prompted them, they all have in common the desire to help to write the story of constructive peacemaking—not just to read about it, but actually share in it.

Will you help to write some new words in the story—if not in letters of gold, then in shillings and pence—so that the money which you receive in return for the service you render, can be translated back into the service of peace.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,000.
Amount received to date: £126 6s. 6d.
Amount received since May 2: £14 6s. 6d.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

of the countries
s independent
United States,"
that it is too
e to develop a

ntic

ve the truth
ed Fechteler
y not more
the Foreign
ne House of
senting its
l Security
oming fiscal

uties that they
heir money it

United States"
ines, factories,
ell as the re-
he free world,
hands.

tion, that Mr.
at the United
it on imported
its history.

mittee on this
say with cer-
ill fight effec-
determination
idly as ability
It is clearly
his spirit and
e rather than
by default."

AEU

rade unions
the present
ne Union of
nd Allied
for a "re-
ion of the

earing Union
erence and on
Executive has
its "concern
mament pro-
ing Britain's

ween the five
of an inter-
ressive reduc-
prohibition of
ical warfare.
adding the
d that there
the wages of
alen Britain's
ernany."

y operate in
concerned the
Britain in the
he fact that
rt instead of

amendment
general state-
tic proposals,
the Union's
was defeated

ness

we should
ulties that
ples under
state their

has been set
UN of the
ce—the two
nik Govern-
refused visas
were with-
ves of the
being con-
cil.

an Congress
to London
ions on the
leration the
(note that a
a public ap-
n were able
7 subscribed

alone may
t the people
if the small
reater mean-
ment."

Bomb

the first
eptember.
e Eniwetok,

ab will have
200 and 300
fteen times
b that was
be capable
fifty square
overed only

ar that the
nb; nor for
ave it.

ow commu-
n sense or
ot be sur-
of Aus-
a testing
bomb.

LONDON AND EDINBURGH Z-TRIBUNALS

—AND A MOCK TRIBUNAL
AT CROYDON

Peace News Reporter

ABOUT forty people attended a mock tribunal at Croydon on Saturday, organised by the local Peace Pledge Union group with the co-operation of the Ex-Servicemen's Movement for Peace.

Six men, five reservists, and one an objector to National Service, had volunteered to submit statements and be examined.

On the tribunal were Herbert Barr, JP, Hugh Brock, Assistant Editor of Peace News; Dora Holden, Leonard Plowman, and Reg. Porcas. Mark Hayler, a local Quaker, acted as Chairman of the tribunal.

Stanley Mills, a Z-reservist who had served in the RAF for eight years—he had volunteered in 1938—told the tribunal that he had given up an engineering job and taken a lower paid post on the railway because he would not produce arms.

In the statement which he submitted he declared:

"My experience of war in the Far East has left me with a scar on my mind that I will carry for the rest of my life and nothing will ever make me assist again in the total misery and mass murder of war."

Answering a question from the tribunal he said that he was uneasy at many of the things he did while serving in the Far East

(Continued on page five)

Naval officer rebukes Tribunal

"I OBJECT TO THIS LEVITY"

PN Special Correspondent

MR. NEIL CLEGG, former Royal Navy lieutenant and now head of the sculpture department at an Aberdeen school of art, attended a sitting of the Scottish Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors in Edinburgh on Monday (May 5) to speak on behalf of an Aberdeen man who objected to call-up for "Z" Reservist training.

But he also "took a hand" in the appeal of a Dundee man by jumping up from his seat in the public benches to protest against "levity" by the Tribunal.

"I object to this levity from the Tribunal directed towards these men who are simply defending themselves and their moral stature," he cried, in retort to a comment by Sheriff R. H. Maconachie, of Stirling.

The Dundee man, Mr. John M. Sinclair, of Broughty Ferry Road, had said that the local tribunal had taken only fifteen minutes to deal with about a dozen appeals, and he also complained that the Press did not give enough space to the statements of conscientious objectors who protested against taking part in and preparing for war.

Consultations by appointment

TOM KEELL WOLFE

Registered Naturopath

Graduate of Edinburgh School of
Natural Therapeutics

21 Promenade, Cheltenham, Glos.

TARIFF WALLS CAUSE WARS

"Protection or Free Trade"

by Henry George

Cloth Bound 2s. 6d. Post free

Land and Liberty Library, 4 Gt. Smith St. S.W.1

PPU PACIFIST RELIGIOUS
FELLOWSHIP

Universalist Service

3 p.m. Sunday 18th May 1952

Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Rd.
near Victoria StationDiscourse by J. Allen Skinner
Editor of Peace NewsTHE FOUNDATIONS OF FAITH:
An Agnostic's Thoughts on Religion

Emrys Hughes, M.P.

writes every week in

FORWARD

On sale everywhere — Friday 3d.

Postal subscription 19s. 6d. yearly

from FORWARD, 26 Civic
Street, Glasgow, C.4.Another way out, besides this
terrible catastrophe of war

By MARY WILLIS

"YOU and I are all human beings, and irrespective of colour and race we are all brothers in one way or another," said a Luton man at the Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors at Fulham on May 6

"When you destroy human life you destroy one of the most wonderful things that has been created."

The applicant, who asked that his name should not be published, told the Tribunal that he had been a Corporal in the RASC, landed in France on D-Day, and went right through the subsequent campaign.

The Chairman, Judge Hargreaves, asked, "What are you to do when you see a band of brothers, as we will call them, beginning to behave badly, becoming very aggressive, and going to destroy the lives of a great number of other brothers and sisters?"

"If there is one man wishing to destroy me, or any one that matters to me, I would not prevent him," replied the applicant.

"I say that there is another way out, besides this terrible catastrophe of war. There are other ways which could be adopted if the peoples of the world were educated sufficiently."

"The Press are in favour of war. They should do everything to make the people think in the correct manner, instead of encouraging them to think in a war-like manner," declared Mr. Sinclair.

Sheriff Sir George Morton, QC, who presided, pointed out that the Press took the view that it gave the objectors' statements as much space as the readers wanted, and in any event the Tribunal had nothing to do with the Press.

Sheriff Maconachie added: "Perhaps you would like us to hold a Press conference first?"—and it was here that bearded Mr. Clegg voiced his protest against levity.

"This is not a court of law," said Mr. Clegg, "and as a citizen, I must object." Sheriff Maconachie said he had made the remark because he wanted to shorten the appeal by eliminating irrelevant argument, and Mr. Clegg was not helping matters by interrupting.

In all, three of nine appellants were recommended by the Appeal Tribunal for exemption on conscientious grounds. Among those whose appeals were refused was Mr. Sinclair, who told the tribunal that he had served for five years in the army and declared that "they will never get me back, no matter what the cost is."

Mr. Clegg, on behalf of Mr. Thomas F. Laing, of 238, Ann Street, Aberdeen, a former Desert Rat, said Laing was prepared to defend his conception of democracy, but only as a democrat—by volunteering if the need arose and not by being forced to serve.

"What is conscription doing to men like him?" asked Mr. Clegg. "In conscripting these young men, we are not so much casting doubt on their moral fibre as on this cause which we ask them to defend. Isn't it historically the case that the people of Britain have always risen to every righteous cause?"

Mr. Clegg said Laing was a member of a British ex-Servicemen's movement, which was bound together to beat Fascism. This was not a pacifist organisation, but they would not take part in an aggressive war against any other people. Peoples must negotiate in any dispute, and unless they did humanity was doomed.

"I don't think the Tribunal is looking on war from the same viewpoint as these men," said Mr. Clegg. Laing's appeal was refused.

"Splendid testimonial"

Mr. James Wallace, of 5, Dalziel Place, Edinburgh, one of the successful appellants, had what Sir George Morton described as "one of the most splendid testimonials from his Commanding Officer that I have ever read."

Wallace said he had always had conscientious objections to military service, but he lacked the moral courage to state them at the outbreak of the late war, and he had served six years in the RAMC.

"I had not the courage of my convictions. I was afraid of what the consequences might bring forth, afraid of repercussions in my own home and that I might not get work," he confessed. "It was a case of moral cowardice."

Mr. Wallace said he felt he was taking a long-term view in asking to be registered as a conscientious objector now. It was quite an easy matter to do the 15 days' Reservist training, but we might find ourselves in the midst of another war, and he thought his case for objecting to service would be made weaker if he did not protest now.

Harold Smith (27), of 14, Westhall Gardens, Edinburgh, made a similar plea and was also successful.

Mr. John C. Taylor (36), of 18, Hawthornvale, Leith, Edinburgh; Mr. James T. McHarg, of 40, West Morelands Street, Glasgow; Joseph R. Carlin, 204, Stoneyhurst Street, Glasgow; and John Mair, junior, of 5, Tullos Place, Aberdeen, all had their appeals rejected. Louis Robertson, of 41, Morven Avenue, Kilmarnock, was successful.

Judge Hargreaves: "But they are not."

Applicant: "Well, sir, since 1914 a large amount of money must have been spent in this world for the destruction of mankind, and the misery of men; if that money had been spent in a different way, for the education of the world, we all, even here in this room today, would be much better off."

The applicant, who was recommended for registration as a CO, told Peace News afterwards that he had been influenced not only by his experiences in the Army, but also by the sudden loss of a small daughter a few months ago. He knows what it is to suffer, and cannot bear the thought of inflicting such suffering on other families.

Mr. John Walker, of Finsbury Park Road, London, N.4, said that he formed his pacifist opinions during his two years' service as a bombardier in the Royal Artillery.

"I was brought up to a certain standard of conduct," he said, "and on going into the army I found myself in a whirl as to where the two agree with each other. I cannot reconcile military service with the moral code to which we are supposed to live."

Would not kill Mr. Swales

"What is it that goes against your conscience in going into the armed forces?" asked Mr. Swales, the Trade Union representative.

"One does not know when one goes into the Army, but at a later date I should be asked to kill some unfortunate being whom I do not know, who has never harmed me at all," replied the applicant.

"Would it make any difference if you did know him?" asked Mr. Swales.

"Well, it would not," was the reply. "I know you now, sir, and if I were asked to kill you I should object." (Laughter.)

He also was recommended as a CO. The importance of studying both sides of the pacifist question was illustrated by the case of Jack B. Shortland, of Bourne End, Bucks, who served in REME from 1940-45.

Asked by the Tribunal whether he had read any books against pacifism, Mr. Shortland said, "I have read Professor Shortland's book* a number of times, and although he states the case clearly, I do not think that he is convincing."

This obviously impressed members of the Tribunal, who are critical of anyone who they think has accepted the pacifist interpretation of Christianity without any questioning, and they recommended Mr. Shortland for registration.

Lancelot Carter, of Spencer Road, East Molesey, also had no difficulty in satisfying the tribunal on this score. He assured members that he had had the opposite side put to him at his public school—Mill Hill—and had studied the books of C. S. Lewis.

A member of the Church of England, he said that his objection was based purely on Christian grounds, and he explained that when he was at school he had been very much interested in the subject of pacifism.

(Continued on page five)

* *Pacifism and Conscientious Objection*, by Professor G. C. Field. (Cambridge University Press, 3s. 6d.)

CENTRE OF FRIENDSHIP
IN "THE CITY OF
BROTHERLY LOVE"

A few weeks ago, Mr. Attlee flew to America specially to attend, as guest of honour, the annual dinner of the Fellowship Commission, Philadelphia.

This article, which is based on information supplied by Elsie Grant, of Aberdeen, describes the history and activities of Fellowship House, which founded the Fellowship Commission—an organisation which seeks to co-ordinate the work of ten agencies for racial, religious and international understanding in the U.S.A.

FELLOWSHIP HOUSE was started through the initiative of two young American girls who were very much concerned at the injustices and persecutions which they saw around them.

In May, 1931, they met with a group of other young people, coloured and white, at Pendle Hill, the Quaker study centre, and discussed what they could do to combat these injustices.

The first outcome of the conference was a series of supper-lectures, and then, when one of the members received a legacy of 800 dollars, it was used as the first payment towards the purchase of a dilapidated house—1431 Brown Street, Philadelphia.

When anti-semitism was put down

The house was put into good order by voluntary workers, and is now used as a headquarters for fellowship and study activities.

In 1938, when it was opened, there was a wave of anti-semitism in Philadelphia, fostered by Nazi propaganda and the depression, and Fellowshipshippers, by opening their doors to coloured and white, Jewish and Christian alike, sought to prove that Americans of all kinds could get on together, once they knew and understood each other.

To-day, more than 600 volunteers work 6,000 hours each month to carry this message to all parts of Philadelphia, and the State of Pennsylvania in which the city lies. There is a Fellowship Choir, which, with twenty-five choirs from churches, synagogues, foreign language groups, schools and clubs, has made Philadelphia, whose name means "the city of brotherly love," into a Singing City.

The Clerical Workshop handles 12,000 pieces of literature each month, including a Newsletter for members and friends, and "Gung Ho," which is circulated in the schools by High School Fellowshipshippers.

Ending race-prejudice in school

A "Doll Library," with dolls representing people of all nations and classes, is used for work among children. Whenever there is persecution or prejudice in a local school, the teachers ask or are invited to bring a class along to Brown Street.

After they have spent an hour or two playing with or learning about the dolls, and the world family, the children themselves deal with the trouble in the school.

A new branch of the work, Fellowship Farm, is a retreat and training centre, where people of all classes and races live together on a communal basis, and learn more about the meaning of the Fellowship Dedication.

"We dedicate ourselves to the creation of a community where prejudice and discrimination are done away with, where every man will have meaningful work, a home to shelter him and to gladden his soul, an open door to beauty, to truth and to all the grandeur of life abundant."

SUNBLEST
HIMALAYAN
BRAIN FOOD

for Mental Fatigue, Lassitude, Apathy and Depression. Rejuvenates the brain and nervous system, notably preserves the faculties of memory and concentration; and inhibits premature degeneration of the glandular tissues including thyroid, adrenal and sex glands.

SUNBLEST HIMALAYAN BRAIN FOOD

is a natural tonic and cell nutrient of rare herbal ingredients from remote mountain soils, identified and harvested by expert medicinal botanists at appropriate seasons.

OFTEN it is the most sensitive and mentally valuable and worth-while type of person, and the best brain worker, who, under the strain and tension of present-day conditions, is most liable to exhaustion and breakdown. In the brain and the cerebro-spinal and sympathetic nervous systems is the core of emotion, thought, imagination and will. Himalayan Brain Food will add new years to life and new life to years in a normal and natural way. Of a purely natural vegetable basis, Himalayan Brain Food does not produce a condition of auto-intoxication nor hyper-activity of the glands, with subsequent exhaustion. It is entirely non-injurious, and in line with Nature Cure.

SEND CASH 5s. 9d. for trial tin of 50 Tablets

SUNBLEST REMEDIES, FAIRLIGHT, SUSSEX

LON

(C

but at the

and "the

for me."

"Ever

whether

member

enemy

involves

would a

as bom

temptin

blockade

What

problem

Davis.

"I thin

what one

Carter,

Christian

and not a

"You n

Davies. "

We know

But when

sen, when

and right

Mr. Car

selves, m

happened

resistance

killed, but

resistance

Christiani

end will

RAF

(C

and that

ried out

The tri

thorough

searching

atmospher

whole eve

diually d

of object

Serviceme

skilful ha

chairman.

The oth

Sutton, ar

Norman

Michael I

and PPU

Dorothy

bunjal; V

Pal Green

OSTEOPATH

99 ARNO

SOUTHGA

A

HEAL

The Inv

Lond

As this is

right to sele

We ne

complete a

and therefo

1. Send

later than

2. Inclu

Place (ha

event; spu

secretary's

that order

F

HUDDERS

Mitg. Ho

Work of t

Manchester

Sa

LONDON.

St. B. J. O

Peace": Soc

SHROPSHI

Faulkner an

from Pastor

Norbury, Bis

Saturday,

CRICH: W

For: Dr. E. A

Styles: 63 F

Su

HIGH WYO

Ho. Eric S.

Welfare": S

LONDON.

25 Vauxhall

The Founda

Thoughts on

mission PPU

COVENTRY

PPU

Tu

LOUGHTON

Faulkner: Fol

RICHMOND

non Rd. East

PPU

ST. ALBAN

Upper Lattim

Glendon: For

Wed

EXETER:

Debate: "Wh

or World Go

Crusade for

D. Wollen, M

(UNA). Norm

Th

LEYTONST

Ho. Bush Rd

PPU

SHIP OF E"

flew to west of of the phia. on in- ant, of ry and ; which ission—to co- cics for national

E was initiative irls who t the in- ich they

a group of l white, at entre, and to combat

ence was a hen, when gacy of 800 t payment dilapidated elphia.

it down l order by used as a and study

ned, there in Phila- ganda and dippers, by ured and ike, sought all kinds they knew

teers work y this mes- ia, and the he city lies. which, with ches, synaps, schools phia, whose uly love,"

dles 12,000 , including iends, and ted in the hipsters.

school epresenting ses, is used never there local school, to bring a

our or two t the dolls- dren them- he school. Fellowship ing centre, l races live , and learn Fellowship

the crea- e prejudice away with, meaningful to gladden y, to truth abundant."

the and ular

rom inal

hile and and etic vill. ears isis, ion t is

EX

LONDON TRIBUNAL

(Continued from page four)

but at that time he ceased to be a Christian, and "the two have always gone together for me."

"Even apart from the question of whether it is right or wrong to kill members of the armed forces of the enemy in war-time, military service involves many things which all Christians would agree is wrong," he said, "such as bombing women and children, or attempting to starve whole populations by blockade."

"What do you think about the great problem of good and evil?" asked Mr. Davies.

"I think in a sense one must fight for what one believes to be good," replied Mr. Carter, "but the weapons with which a Christian should fight are love and humility and not armaments."

"You mean passive resistance," said Mr. Davies. "In the individual sense, of course we know Gandhi achieved a success in that. But when you get it in the mass, like Bel- sen, where they were just slaughtered left and right..."

Mr. Carter: "If they had defended themselves, much the same thing would have happened. I am not saying that passive resistance won't result in people being killed, but if one is consistent about passive resistance one sets an example of Christianity to other people, which in the end will have an effect on them."

RAF Objector at Croydon

(Continued from page four)

and that he protested at the atrocities carried out by men serving with him.

The tribunal gave all the applicants a thorough grilling, but although many searching questions were asked a friendly atmosphere was preserved throughout the whole evening; the credit for this being equally divided between the very fine type of objector coming from the Croydon Ex-servicemen's Movement for Peace and the skilful handling of the cases by the Quaker chairman.

The other applicants were J. L. Hart, B. Sutton, and Mark Blackmore, of the ESMP; Norman Bagley, Jehovah's Witness; and Michael Randle, National Service objector and PPU member.

Dorothy Bing acted as Clerk to the Tribunal; Violet Sweet was Usher.

Pal Green 4745 Hoddeston 2392
R. J. BAILEY
OSTEOPATH — NATUROPATH & BATE'S PRACTITIONER
99 ARNOS GROVE SOUTHGATE, N.11. 11 BURFORD ST. HODDESTON, HERTS. (Mondays only)

A Reliable Printing Service
HEADLEY BROTHERS
The Invicta Press ASHFORD Kent
London Office: 109 Kingsway WC2

Lakeland Pacifists confer
MET PPU MEMBER—AND CHANGED
HIS MIND ABOUT JOINING RAF

MEMBERS of the Lakeland Area of the Peace Pledge Union met in conference at Keswick last week-end to discuss "Peace—What am I doing about it?"

On Saturday the PPU Field Worker, Connie Jones, who was the guest speaker, described the organisation of the PPU.

"Individual pacifist witness and good group work are needed to extend pacifism," she said. "They're far more important than what we do at Head Office."

'The Hope for Humanity'

AT its meeting (The Hope for Humanity) on May 9, Federal Union presented a most distinguished and impressive platform.

Lord Beveridge endeavoured to give a general picture of how world government could be achieved and what its main features should be. He, like most of the other speakers, emphasised the fact that world government could only be established if national governments were prepared to give up some of their sovereign rights, but declared that he himself belonged to the minimalist school of thought which believed that the supranational authority should be granted as little power as possible, while national governments should retain as much as possible.

To those who said that world government was an ideal that could not be realised he would answer from his own experience that every new idea had at one time seemed impossible of fulfilment; only 40 years ago it had been widely believed that the British people would never tolerate compulsory health insurance.

Dr. Vaughan Williams, introducing violinist Yehudi Menuhin, referred to the quotation "Every nation should be different and every nation should be at peace." Today, he said, the tendency was for every nation to be the same and every nation to be at war.

Mr. Menuhin, speaking in a diffident and halting manner which was at the same time captivating and impressive, took up this theme when he spoke of the difference between unity and uniformity.

Unity which was the result of tolerance and understanding, could exist between widely different nations as between widely different people. But uniformity, which was the unfortunate tendency of to-day, could only exist as the result of oppression, and though giving the appearance of order and peace, was yet the most aggressive potential we knew.

If world government was to be established, national governments must not only give up some freedom of action, but also hand back to their citizens some of the freedom they had taken away.

Other speakers were R. W. G. Mackay, John Tilney, MP, and Ursula Jeans, Canon Collins was in the chair.

"Don't overwork your Group or Area secretary—share out the work of distributing Peace News, collecting subscriptions, and so on."

John Bullough (Area Secretary) and the Rev. J. Barton Turner, of Keswick, spoke about the problem of military service. Mr. Turner said that some young people had a clear insight into ethical problems even at 16, and he would be prepared to accept them into the PPU at that age.

Jack Haworth (Kendal) felt that the pressure should be put not on the youngsters themselves, but on the Government—not to call them up at 18.

Kenneth Chapman of Ulverston, aged 17½ the youngest person present—said that it was only through meeting a PPU member that he had changed his mind about going into the RAF, as he had intended to do, through sheer ignorance, when he was 16. He added that his father and all his brothers were soldiers, and his sister was in the WRAF.

John Westwood (Carlisle), speaking as an art master, urged the PPU to make itself more attractive, especially to young people. Jack Haworth followed this up with a description of film shows which had been given in Kendal, using films which were anti-war or illustrated constructive peace work.

The Sunday session will be reported in Peace News next week.

Up and Doing

TWO RUPEES

WHILE Peace News has always had good friends in India regular readers are few.

But now we have good reasons to expect progress there. Mary Barr, the well-known pacifist who has recently returned to India, has undertaken to act as our agent and already gained new readers.

We invite all readers to send us the addresses of friends in India who are sympathetic to pacifism so that we can put them in touch with Mary Barr.

Subscription rates in Indian currency are: Twelve weeks ... Rs. 3/5
Twenty-four weeks ... Rs. 6/10
One year ... Rs. 13/12
Ten weeks trial subscription for new readers ... Rs. 2/-

Orders and payments should be sent direct to Mary Barr, c/o Forestdale, Wellington we ask all who are able to do so to support her efforts to the full. H.F.M.

Circulation last week 12,000 copies.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WCI

DR. MONTESSORI

ONE of the few really great women of our times, Dr. Maria Montessori, died in Holland last week, aged 81 years. All her life was given up to the cause of the child, and many of her ideas on education have now been absorbed into most schools throughout the world.

Dr. Montessori believed that peace could only come through the little child. According to her, every baby is born into this world with potentialities of becoming a happy and balanced human being. It is the environment which makes the child normal and well-adapted to face life or, as is so often the case nowadays, deviated and thwarted, wanting to fight and quarrel already in early years.

Through trial and error Dr. Montessori worked out her so-called apparatus, didactic material used in Montessori schools to give the child sufficient scope to develop in the right way and at the right time. The teacher is there to demonstrate, help and advise, but never to interfere.

When Dr. Montessori began her experiments with mentally deficient children before the First World War, she found that they responded far beyond her expectations to the combined influences of patience, a friendly and even beautiful environment

and the genuine wish to help on part of the teacher. Gradually, she prepared material for the ordinary nursery and pre-nursery school child.

She was forever going forward, experimenting and progressing until the very day of her death.

Though frail in body, her spirit was strong and undaunted. Driven out of her native country by Mussolini, who offered her fame and riches in return for co-operation with the régime, she built up a new life in Germany, Austria and Spain, but each time she had to leave when dictators came into power. Finally she found refuge in Holland shortly before the last war. However, in 1939, though already advanced in years, she accepted an invitation to lecture in India, where the war overtook her; but during her internment as an enemy alien she and her adopted son, Mario Montessori, trained scores of teachers.

Dr. Montessori's work will be carried on by Mario Montessori and by the many who believe in her method and in a future where men will be happy and free because they were given the right food for body and soul in childhood.

KERSTI WINTERBOTTOM

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, May 16
HUDDERSFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Paddock; Edward Thomas, "Work of the Friends Service Unit in Manchester"; SoF.

Saturday, May 17
LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. B. J. Over, "Planting the Tree of Peace"; Social Order Commission; PPU.
SHROPSHIRE: For Area Conf: Hugh Faulkner and Rev. H. Budden; Details from Pastor Dennis Fretwell, Sunbank, Merbury, Bishops Castle; For.

Saturday, May 17-Sunday, May 18
CRICK: Weekend Conf. S. Derbyshire For: Dr. E. A. Allen; Details from Gerald Styles; 63 Field Ho, Alverstun, Derby.

Sunday, May 18
HIGH WYCOMBE: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Eric S. Tucker, "Disarmament and Welfare"; SoF.

LONDON, S.W.1: 3 p.m. Denison Ho. 204 Vauxhall Bridge Rd.; J. Allen Skinner, "The Foundations of Faith: an Agnostic's Thoughts on Religion"; Religious Commission PPU.

Monday, May 19
COVENTRY: 7.30 p.m. 87 Stoney Rd.; PPU.

Tuesday, May 20
LOUGHTON: 8 p.m. Wesley Hall; Hugh Faulkner, For.
RICHMOND: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd. East Sheen; Edward Ashworth; PPU.

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho; Upper Lattimore Rd; The Rev. C. Paul Glendon; For.

Wednesday, May 21
EXETER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho; Debate: "Which way to Peace: Pacifism or World Government"? W. S. Smiley (Crusade for World Government); Rev. D. Wolley, MA (For); W. E. Catling (UNA); Norman Stevens (PPU); PPU.

Thursday, May 22
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd; Win Marsh, "Genetics"; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.
HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Heath St; W. Piper, "Work of the Council of Christians and Jews"; PPU.

Saturday, May 24
CANTERBURY: 3.30 and 6.30. Presbyterian Ch. Hall; Area rally; Rev. Clifford Macquire; For.

Sunday, May 25
BRIGHTON: 4 p.m. Open air sea front meeting; Brighton and Hove boundary; PPU.

Monday, May 26
BRIDGWATER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho; The Approach to the Churches; Bridgwater Peace Group.

Wednesday, May 28
LONDON, E.C.3: 12.10 to 12.30 St. Mary Woolnoth Ch; Lombard St; Fellowship Mtg for prayer; Leader: Leslie Tarlton; For.

Thursday, May 29
LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: Open air mtg; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.

Tuesday, June 3
PLYMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Corn Exchange; Glenn Smiley (American For); "An American Talks Peace"; Chair: Rev. C. Ladlow; For.

Friday, June 6
LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30 p.m. St. Martin-in-the-Fields; Intercession Service for Peace; The Rev. Francis Noble; AFP, For. PPU.

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY
LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.
Terms. 15s. per single column inch

MEETINGS
INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

MOSCOW ECONOMIC Conference and Peace, Henry Osborne, MP, reports back. Alliance Hall, Caxton St., S.W.1. Wednesday, May 28, 8 p.m. Details Crusade for World Government, TRA 1519.

RAMBLE IN Kent, May 25. Meet Charing Cross plat. 4, at 9.45. Bring food. Children too. Central London PPU.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

ACCOMMODATION WANTED & OFFERED
ACCOMMODATION AVAILABLE, vegetarian and diet reform. Others welcomed. Sea front, small village, Innisfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent. Tel. Dymchurch 265.

A COUNTRY HOLIDAY? Write Fred and Alice House, Huish Champflower, Wiveliscombe, Somerset.

AUSTRIAN TYROL, magnificent centre, walking, climbing, 10 rooms (20 beds). Conditions simple but adequate for active people. Cooking good, food ample. 38 Austrian schillings daily to end of June and in September. 45 schillings in July and August. Pfister, Jochberg, Mayrhofen, Zillertal, Tyrol, Austria.

A GOOD HOLIDAY: Peace News reader has pleasure in recommending Austrian family, B and B and bath, (continental breakfast), low price of 29 Austrian schillings a night. Write Frau Dunser, Innsbruck Lutterottstrasse 4, Austria.

ATTENTION PACIFISTS. Perfect holidays near Dublin. Excellent food. Sea, mountain air, May and Sept., £3 10s. weekly. Box 116.

COTSWOLDS, VEGETARIAN Guest House in peaceful delightful village. Good table, moderate terms. Fortune's Well, Sheepscote, Stroud, Glos.

CARAVAN, 4 BERTH, £3 weekly. Vegetarians £2. 694 Main Road, Dovercourt, Essex.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS, Vegetarian Guest House. Rest and comfort amid beautiful scenery. Arthur and Catherine Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Near Matlock. Tel. Ambergate 44.

DEVON AND Cornwall for April-May holidays. Special terms. Comfortable, well recommended, Dawlish and Newquay (May). Brochure II free. Bishop, Fairfield Guest House, Dawlish. Tel. 2151.

FRESHWATER BAY, Isle of Wight. Dimbola Private Hotel, overlooking bay. H and C water all rooms. From 44 to 74 gns. Write Stephen and Winifred Stoner, Phone 421.

NORFOLK, QUIET seaside village, excellent sands, tonic air. Near Broad, bird sanctuaries. Good food (vegn. optional), comfort, friendly atmosphere. Full August. Woodbine Guest House, Sea Palling.

YUGOSLAV HOLIDAYS. Depart every Saturday. Holiday Friendship Service, 445 Strand. Send S.A.E.

THE VEGETARIAN catering association, 43 Lancaster Grove, N.W.3, will be glad to send revised list of member establishments in Great Britain on receipt 4d.

SITUATIONS VACANT

The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a Local Office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled Employment Agency IF the applicant is a man aged 18-64 inclusive or a woman aged 18-59 inclusive. UNLESS he or she or the employment is excepted from the provisions of Vacancies Order 1952.

THE CBCO needs a male assistant experienced in office work and able to share responsibility with the Secretary. Apply to 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

FOR SALE & WANTED

BAMBOO GARDEN canes, all sizes, any quantity. Handicraft cane, plywood bases, willows, etc. Canecraft instruction books. Prompt despatch. Stamp brings list. Whines and Edgeler, The Bamboo People, Godmanstone, Dorchester.

MISCELLANEOUS

HOUSLOW PEACE Movement presents "Council of the Gods." Town Hall, Preapy Road, 7.45 p.m., Wednesday, May 21. Admission 6d.

TWO NEW Chinese films. Double premiere. "China, Family of Nations" (U) and "Along the Yangtze" (U). Speaker, Mr. Harold Davies, MP, recently returned from World Economic Conference, Moscow. Scala Theatre, W.1. Monday, May 19, 7.30 p.m.: Res. seats, 10s. 6d., 7s. 6d., 5s., 3s. 6d., 2s. 6d., from Theatre or Britain-China Friendship Association, 17 Bishops Bridge Road, W.2. Tel: AMB 1431.2 (s.a.e. when writing, please).

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield Middlesex.

WORLD LEAGUE against Vivisection opposes all cruelties in food, dress, amusements and medicine. Copy of "The Animal's Champion" free on request, 42 Aberdeen Rd. London, N.5.

PEACE NEWS
by POST or from a NEWSAGENT

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES
PLEASE HAND THIS TO YOUR NEWSAGENT
Please deliver PEACE NEWS to me weekly
(Newsagent's name)

Gt. Britain and Abroad	
Twelve weeks	5s.
Twenty-four weeks	10s.
One year	21s.

U.S. readers: One Dollar for 16 weeks; Three Dollars a year.

AIRMAIL SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
United States, Canada, India, Africa:
Twelve weeks ... 12s. (U.S. \$1.75)
Twenty-four weeks ... 24s. (U.S. \$3.50)
One year ... 50s. 6d. (U.S. \$7.25)

Australia, New Zealand and Far East:
Twelve weeks ... 14s.
Twenty-four weeks ... 28s.
One year ... 59s.

TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR NEW READERS
Home or Abroad: 3s. for ten weeks.

PERSONAL
BELGRAVE BUREAU. Marriage and friendship. Send 1s. 6d. P.O. for details of our unique service. 51 Cadogan Lane, S.W.1.

LITERATURE, &c.
ELIJAH COMING before Christ. World's only hope of peace. Wonderful book free. Mexigodo Mission Dept., 18 Rochester N.Y. U.S.A.

"MONEY MUST GO" by Philoren. "Production for Use and Free Distribution." 1s. 9d. post free. Available from Housmans Bookshop 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

QUAKERISM Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London.

Peace Publicity

CARTOON POSTCARDS: The Two Mules; How Can They Shake Hands; Scripture and Bayonet Practice. Ample writing space. 10d. doz. post free. Sample of each 4d.

ECONOMY LABELS. Publicising Peace News. Large size, 1s. 50; 1s. 9d. 400. Post free.

PPU PEACE STAMPS. Pen is mightier than the sword. 1s. 14d. 50; 2s. 14d. 100. Post free.

Peace News, 3, Blackstock Road, N.4.

Is Russia preparing to attack Western Europe?

THE ARMS PROGRAMME CREATES A VESTED INTEREST IN WAR PREPARATION

IS Russia preparing for a large scale invasion of Western Europe and are we justified in going ahead with our heavy and crippling rearmament programme on the assumption that this and this alone is the policy that can prevent it?

Of course anyone can assert that Russia has secret military plans for sweeping over to the French ports. It is easy to make such assertions for they do not require evidence, only credulity.

The people who want to believe that this is Russia's intention will continue to believe it whatever denials come from Moscow. It justifies our large scale rearmament on the ground that this is purely precautionary and defensive.

One of the worst features is that it created a vested interest which will want to continue the rearmament programme even when the international situation changes.

Once Government orders are given for planes, tanks, guns and ships, it is not an easy matter to stop the work going on even when the people at the top who have given the orders may know that by the time they come to be delivered they will be obsolete. Firms which have switched over to arms production are reluctant to be switched back again when they have Government contracts.

Their jobs depend on rearmament

Then there are the military, naval and air force chiefs who are in favour of rearmament because their jobs and promotions and pensions depend upon it. I do not say they want a war, but the slowing down or stopping of rearmament would hardly be good for them.

We are now spending £4,500,000 a year on the Secret Service. This is for spying and counter-spying and one never knows what. Would people whose jobs depend on regularly reporting on how the Russians are preparing for war be likely to be keen on reporting that perhaps Russia may not be likely to do this at all?

Anybody who knows how these things work knows that there are always forged documents and further forged documents that can be produced at the right moment to prove anything.

It would of course completely upset western rearmament plans if it became clear beyond doubt that Russia had no intention of any aggressive attack on Western Europe.

The Russian answer

The best way that Russia could demonstrate this would be to demobilise some of the 175 divisions that we hear so much about in the House of Commons during the debates on the Estimates.

I did my best to pass on this suggestion to any Russians I talked with in Moscow. Their reply was, "But our army is not for any attack on Europe, it is to defend ourselves from attack. The Germans attacked us and invaded us. We did not start the last war. But now we have to be prepared for any attack again."

Our rearmament programme has strengthened the hands of the Russians who are all out for a strongly armed Russia and of course it works the other way round.



Cheap Edition

- BRAVE NEW WORLD** 3s. 6d.
by Aldous Huxley
- The Film is now showing of*
CRY THE BELOVED COUNTRY 9s. 6d.
by Alan Paton
- A Pacifist legal expert writes*
YOUR FAMILY AND THE LAW 1s.
by Robert S. W. Pollard (Thinkers Library).
- The World Pacifist Meeting Report*
THE TASK OF PEACEMAKING 8s. 6d.
Foreword by Rajendra Prasad.
- "Ethel Mannin has rendered a service to the science of better living," says P.N. of her novel*
THE FIELDS AT EVENING 12s. 6d.
- A textbook for current affairs*
AFRICA: BRITAIN'S THIRD EMPIRE 6s. 6d.
by George Padmore
- Please add postage: 6d. a book, 3d. each extra volume
(PEACE NEWS LTD.)
- 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4**

WOODLANDS HOLIDAY CAMP.
Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent.
Delightful Holidays with Swimming, Tennis, Miniature Golf, etc., and Jolly Evenings.
Those desiring a Holiday in July and August with others interested in Peace should write
Progressive Tours, 1 Gunnersbury Mansions, W.4.
386 Chiswick High Road, London, W.4.
Other weeks write Camp for Brochure.

How to find a way out of this state of mind which is leading us all to spend more on arms than we can afford is the most urgent international problem.

That is why it is important that we should take seriously the Russian suggestion that we should have talks about setting up an independent neutral Germany, and not only discuss the possibility of free elections but continue the discussions on a broader basis to cover the whole future of an independent Germany in relation to Russia and the rest of Europe.

New trends in Germany

It is no use pretending that in view of Russia's declaration in favour of an independent Germany and the withdrawal of all occupation troops that we can go ahead with our proposals for a Western Defence Plan to include W. German troops as if nothing had happened.

Dr. Adenauer's plans for organising a German Army under Western auspices have clearly to be revised in view of the opposition within Germany.

Without the German divisions it is clear that the proposed Western Army will be very weak indeed.

An independent Germany will want an independent army under German control and it is now very difficult to know how this can be prevented from outside. If we are all going to arm to preserve peace, then the Germans will want to do it too.

The only really reasonable alternative to German rearmament now is all round disarmament with Germany incorporated in a planned European economy which will divert labour and material away from rearmament on all sides to an economic drive for consumption goods, and the raising of standards of life in all the countries which are now wasting their money and man power on stupid rearmament plans.

That is the line we should be taking in our foreign policy. It is completely stupid to support the rearmament programme launched by the Labour Party now the whole European situation is likely to be changed.

I have heard Labour MPs, well informed on military matters, now argue that it will be extremely dangerous to allow our soldiers to remain in Germany when the prospects of a big, efficient Western European Army have so clearly receded.

Britain should pull out

The logic is that we should pull out of Germany. For we cannot continue to remain there as occupation forces and it is seriously contemplated that a few British divisions could hold out against the possibility of the armies of an independent Germany allied with Russia?

It is two years ago since I argued in the House of Commons that General Eisenhower's elaborate blue print for a Western European Army was, without Germany, not worth the paper it was written on.

The Russian proposal for an independent Germany does not support the theory that the Russians are determined on advancing into Europe. It rather shows that they are thinking on different lines.

If this is so then the arguments for rearmament which persuaded the House of Commons to agree to the three-year programme of £4,700,000,000 have become so much moonshine.

War: The doctor's moral responsibility

(Continued from page one)

by Mr. Harvey Moore, QC. At the conclusion it was almost unanimously agreed that there was a strong prima facie case on insect warfare in Korea.

At this point the Chairman, Dr. D. McLean, intervened to say that the MAPW, in co-operation with "Science for Peace," had set up a committee of micro-biologists, epidemiologists, parasitologists, etc., to go through all the evidence that had been put forward by the Chinese. In the meantime, he said, the Association had to reserve judgment.

Dr. Coppard said that she agreed with a previous speaker that once war had started people would believe almost everything, and we ought therefore to fight war in all aspects, rather than just one aspect.

Summing up the discussion, Dr. Martin Pollock said that he did not think it was illogical to fight certain aspects of war. Doctors should concern themselves particularly with bacteriological warfare because it was for the first time a complete perversion of the art of healing, the science of medicine.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by The W. F. Clifford Printing Co. Ltd. (T.U.), London, N.16.

Do pacifists foster aggression?

THE PEACE BALLOT MYTH EXPOSED

Your article (Peace News, April 4) seems to me so full of total misconceptions that I scarcely know how to begin. The most superficial reading of . . . the whole vast documentation now made available about the Axis and its policy, clearly indicates that pacifist activities in this country, such as the Peace Ballot, had an enormous influence in encouraging Hitler and Mussolini to plunge the world into war."

—Letter from Malcolm Muggeridge, April 17, 1952.

THE dictionary definition of the word "misconception" reads: "to understand incorrectly," and it seems a very good description of Mr. Muggeridge's own lack of understanding, for there is, at the very heart of his argument, a basic misconception of pacifism, and therefore, naturally, an incorrect deduction.

The Peace Ballot had nothing whatever to do with any pacifist organization. It was launched and carried out by the League of Nations Union, which stood firmly by the policies and principles of the League of Nations, one of which was adherence to the use of collective sanctions, economic and military, against any nation that should be indicted by the League as an aggressor.

The object of the Ballot was to discover the trend of public opinion and feeling on matters which concerned issues of international law and so-called collective security. A glance at the questions to which people were invited to reply proves immediately that pacifism was not the issue at all.

*

The questions were as follows:

1. Should Great Britain remain a member of the League of Nations? 11,090,387 Yes. 355,883 No.
2. Are you in favour of an all round reduction of armaments by International Agreement? 10,470,489 Yes. 862,775 No.
3. Are you in favour of the all round abolition of national, military and naval aircraft by International Agreement? 8,533,558 Yes. 1,689,786 No.
4. Should the manufacture and sale of armaments for private profit be prohibited by International Agreement? 10,417,329 Yes. 635,074 No.
5. Do you consider that if a nation insists on attacking another the nations should combine to compel it to stop by: (a) economic and non-military measures? 10,027,608 Yes. 635,074 No. (b) if necessary, military measures? 6,884,368 Yes. 2,351,981 No.

On the vital last question only nine million odd out of a population of forty-eight million voted at all, and the vote was overwhelmingly for the use of war, since that is the real meaning of "military measures." It is quite clear that the vote, such as it was, was not for pacifism, but against it.

*

So far as pacifism is concerned the other questions are not relevant. The vote against the sale of armaments for private profit was plainly a Socialist vote, and that there were ten million who objected to business firms making huge profits out of death, was not by any means a vote against armaments as such.

Voting in favour of reduction of armaments, and abolition of military and naval aircraft, was dependent upon an international agreement for everyone to do the same, and was, therefore, as meaningless then as it still is to-day. Does Mr. Muggeridge deduce from Russia's suggestion for an international agreement to reduce armaments that Stalin has become a pacifist and would never go to war?

If he does not think so, he must ask himself why Hitler should have thought that of Great Britain, when not the leaders of this country, but a very small minority of the total population declared they would be in favour of such an agreement.

To argue that Hitler's decisions were influenced by the votes of small minorities on questions of this kind is to evade entirely the real issues. Hitler was not an abnormal aberration for which no one but the wicked Germans were responsible; he was the outcome of the aftermath of a world war. The tragic decisions that eventually brought him to power were made long before the world had ever heard his name.

It is time that there was a correct and not "an incorrect understanding" of this vital truth.

NEXT WEEK

A. Creech Jones

former Colonial Secretary will be writing in Peace News on his opposition to the proposals for Central African Federation.

Make sure of your copy of P.N. Place an order with your newsagent to-day.

Copies for free distribution may be ordered from Peace News, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, at the special post free rate of 2s. 6d. a dozen—but send your order in by Tuesday, May 20, to avoid disappointment.

QUESTION HOUR FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Come to the

CONWAY HALL

RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1

TUESDAY, MAY 27 at 7.30 p.m.
Come and ask YOUR Question!

FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P.

BERNARD WITHERS

Secretary of The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors

STUART MORRIS SYBIL MORRISON

Gen. Secretary of The Peace Pledge Union Chairman of The Peace Pledge Union

QUESTION MASTER

THE REV. JAMES ADAMS

Rector of Bermondsey

Organised by THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

ADMISSION FREE

CENTRAL AFRICA

(Continued from page one)

but its working had been hampered by Southern Rhodesia.

Dingle Foot said that the Africa Bureau, which sponsored the meeting, had been set up because it had become increasingly difficult to obtain information relating to events in Africa.

The Bureau had two main aims:

1. To see that information shall be more readily available.
2. To see that the people of Britain shall have means of hearing and understanding the views of the people of Africa.

Of the three African chiefs who addressed the meeting with the aid of interpreters, the first, the aged Paramount Chief Chitimukulu, recalled seeing David Livingstone in Africa:

"We accepted the protection given by Dr. Livingstone—we never attempted to kill him—we appreciated the British Government's protection and knew we were on the safe side," he said.

He asked whether the British people wanted to go back on their promise to guarantee the freedom of his people and to see that they met with no interference.

The Archbishop of Canterbury

IN our issue for May 2 we headed a report that the Archbishop of Canterbury had ruled out a discussion on a message from the Society of Friends at the Belfast meeting of the British Council of Churches, "Archbishop bars debate on Quaker peace plea."

Dr. Fisher gave his ruling on the ground that the statement was not on the agenda. Although this was made clear in our report we feel that in the hurried effort at compression in our headline we did the Archbishop an injustice.

This note of apology is to make some small amends.

BEGINNING OF THE RED CROSS

IN a lecture at the Royal Society of Arts on May 8, Professor E. N. da C. Andrade, FRS, one of the world's most distinguished scientists and the author of two works on the atom, reviewed the life of Henry Dunant.

Henry Dunant, of Geneva, having witnessed the slaughter at the battle of Solferino in 1859, wrote his book "Memory of Solferino" and brought the conscience of Europe to the point where an International Agreement (the first ever to be negotiated) was signed for the succour of the sick and wounded in battle. This was achieved in 1864.

That effort of Dunant brought about the Red Cross, which plays so great a part in helping the victims of war.

Henry Dunant, a pacifist, shared the first Nobel Peace Prize with Frédéric Passy, the French economist and pacifist, in 1901.

Nehru and the WPM

Vera Brittain writes that the caption under the portrait of Mr. Nehru in the April 25 issue was not quite correct. The reception given at his house was for the Indo-American Conference then sitting in Delhi (December 1949), and not for the delegates to the World Pacifist Meeting. Mr. Nehru did not support the WPM to that extent, though later he addressed the delegates at Sevagram in conjunction with another engagement at nearby Wardha.